

PEACE NEWS

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PROOF THAT WE CAN TALK PEACE WITH HITLER

A Significant Conference

By the Editor

PERHAPS just because the extension of the war to Scandinavia raised (as Dr. Alex. Wood pointed out on these columns a fortnight ago) no issue that had not already been faced by all who desire peace, no very great excitement seems to have been created by it. The war drags on and the extent, to which it has us in its grip is shown more by the huge demands made on us in the Budget this week than by any new horrors on the fighting.

There has, however, been an increased suspicion of those in this country who seem to be defending Germany's actions. Nor is it making things easier for those who, while far from defending the warlike actions of either side, desire to see the real interests of the peoples served in the only possible way—by all concerned meeting together round the conference table (as they will have to eventually) to work out co-operative ways of distributing the world's abundance. The opinion is as firm as ever that this is impossible now.

Is It Impossible?

This opinion ranges from a sincere difficulty in seeing just how the warring people could be brought together to the blind slogan, "You can't negotiate with Hitler." Or, as Mr. Maurice Healy, K.C., put it in his "postscript" to the BBC news on Sunday, with whom can we negotiate? For even if Hitler is not expected to attend in person, "his barbarian hordes" are assumed to be as bad, as they apparently were by Mr. Hugh Dalton, MP, on Saturday.

Yet two items of news reported in *The Times*, on Saturday, seem to strike at the root of these fears and questionings.

We Have Negotiated

In Stockholm, on Thursday of last week, an international "conference" was held at which representatives of Britain, Germany, Norway, and eight neutral countries sat down together round a table—to arbitrate!

Actually, they sat as a court of arbitration under the auspices of the International Chamber of Commerce. They investigated and passed judgment upon "commercial litigation between parties in belligerent States and parties in non-belligerent States."

The point is that it proves we can negotiate with "Hitler," or at any rate with one of his "barbarians" who are supposed to be equally untrustworthy. Ah, but that was only about "commercial litigation"; peace is another matter, you say? Certainly

it is; it's infinitely more urgent and vital to the ordinary people everywhere. But again the point is that a basis of trust is essential for any conference, and it has been found possible.

Oh yes, you object, but there were eight neutrals. However can you expect even half a dozen to play such an important role when no-one knows which will be the next victim of the war? Well, they were there at Stockholm last week; but in any case, listen to this second piece of news from the very country that felt the danger so strongly as to declare a state siege.

Dutch Are Willing

In announcing the extension of the state of siege to the entire territory of the Netherlands (for the first time in history), the Prime Minister, Jonkheer de Geer, broadcast these words on Friday:

"We have seen already that for fear that our neutrality could be violated some have felt inclined to abandon this neutrality in advance by making arrangements with the belligerent parties. It is easy to keep away from such misgivings if we have a clear idea of our position. Our vocation is a serving kind of neutrality. We are outside the conflict, and we are prepared at any time to offer our services to the belligerents if they want to use them in order to stave off the immeasurable disaster which threatens them all if they choose to continue this fight to the bitter end."

"If they want to use them. . . ." There does not seem to have been any doubt about our wanting to use such services in Stockholm the other day; no endless talk about not being able to trust Hitler; not even the possibly more reasonable fear that the Germans might repudiate the judgments arrived at whenever it suited them.

We wanted those services badly enough to reach agreement on "commercial litigation." Who is going to say that he does

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STOP ME
AND
SIGN ONE



Signing Them On For Peace

One of the brightest ideas of the Women's Peace Campaign . . . Miss Mary Taylor securing yet another signature in Liverpool for the women's peace appeal to Governments.

Sybil Morrison, organizer of the campaign, writes:

"The invasion of Scandinavia has, of course, made it much more difficult now to approach people about signing an appeal for negotiations because opinion is hardening against the pacifist, but that is not a reason for turning back. On the contrary, it is a reason for going forward with renewed purpose and steadfast courage, because if we, who stand for reason and tolerance and humanity, lose heart now, then the cause of peace will indeed be lost."



"We can do much by trade and diplomacy in areas where geography forbids military offensives"—*Evening Standard*

CARTOON BY TEGETMEIER

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A Pacifist

Commentary

Who is Behind "Fifth Column" Clamour?

THERE is still remarkably little hostility toward the pacifist on the part of the general public. What there is has been largely artificially produced, and is being artificially stimulated, by organized efforts, particularly through the irresponsible press.

Notable recent examples have been the ill-informed articles of Mr. Beverley Baxter, MP, in national and provincial dailies, on the "fifth column" theme (I wish someone would tell us where the other four columns are), with which he usually mixes up some quite untrue statements about the activities of the Peace Pledge Union; a column (the fifth one on the front page, which used to have only four!) in the *London Evening Standard* of April 17, in which their reporter discovered the entirely new "fact" that "so-called Christian societies are picketing employment exchanges to distribute pacifist literature to the young men registering for national service"; and a full page in the *Sunday Dispatch* a fortnight ago wherein the News Editor, "Our Diplomatic Correspondent," "Our Special Investigator," even "Our Crime Reporter," and an anonymous occupier of, curiously enough, a fifth column brought all their guns into action at once.

"Reality of Freedom"

By contrast, *The Times* of Tuesday and the *News Chronicle* of Monday carried much more sober leading articles. True, the former warned against "hysterics" on the practical ground that there was nothing to fear, but though the latter did too, to a certain extent, it mainly drew attention to the much more important danger of a general drive against civil liberties and urged upon the Government "the wisdom and strength of declining to bow to the clamour of the back benchers, and thus demonstrating to the world the reality of our freedom."

The *News Chronicle* has done a public service in putting its finger on the real danger. It is not in the private opinions of journalists and others about pacifism (which they have, of course, every right to express, though one wishes they would find out the facts first), but in the clamour for Government action of a kind that is a complete denial of democratic rights.

Copy the French?

This is taking various forms—from the meeting of MPs which decided on Thursday of last week to ask the Home Secretary to receive a deputation on the matter down to demands that this country should copy France in making the mere possession of certain kinds of propaganda punishable by death.

What is more serious is that there are signs that this is an organized campaign. Not only do most of the letters and articles in the press bear a remarkable similarity in concentrating on the communists and in

(Continued on page 2, column 1)

BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP
ANNUAL MEETING at KINGSWAY HALL, LONDON, W.C.2, on TUESDAY, APRIL 30th, at 7 p.m.
Speakers: Rev. Henry Carter, C.B.E.; Rev. Donald O. Soper, M.A., Ph.D.
Details of the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship can be obtained from the Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps, Lancashire College, Manchester, 16.

A Pacifist Commentary . . . edited by "Observer"

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the demand for French methods of dealing with them, but an amazing leaflet has been publicly distributed with exactly the same object. It is to be the subject of questions in Parliament.

This leaflet bore no printer's or publisher's name. This, of course, is in itself illegal, however harmless the contents of the leaflet might be.

Yet when these were being distributed in London on Sunday week no action was taken by the police against them. Instead, on charges of obstruction that are becoming suspiciously frequent, more people selling *Peace News* were arrested.

It would be more to the point if the Ministry of Information were to turn its attention as vigorously to efforts of this kind that are illegal in form and mischievous in intention. Failure to do so will inevitably raise doubts in people's minds as to the Ministry's own complicity in this anti-democratic propaganda.

In this connexion, our readers will recall the letter we published recently from a divisional officer of the Ministry to a local editor seeking his co-operation in a campaign against the Peace Pledge Union. This was by no means an isolated case of approaches being made by the Ministry, particularly to journalists, to help in an official campaign against a legally-expressed point of view.

Hope for India?

THE debate in Parliament on India last Thursday was somewhat depressing for those who urge the justice of Indian claims.

In the first place there were never more than 35 members present—sometimes fewer than 20—to discuss the fate of 353,000,000 Indians. Yet the *Daily Herald* called it a "calm, balanced and, in the main, statesmanlike debate." Have we, then, only 35 MPs possessing those qualities?

Secondly, the government spokesmen persisted in blaming divisions among Indians themselves for the delay in progress towards independence. Differences between Hindus and Moslems are often allowed to obscure the main problem, and Congress is spoken of as though it represents only Hindus. Perhaps it is as well to recall that the President of Congress this year is a Moslem.

But, for all that, a suggestion made during the debate has since proved to contain hopeful possibilities. Mr. Wedgwood Benn, for the Labour Party, suggested that the Indian leaders should get together to agree on the formation of a small body to examine the possibilities of constitutional advancement. If such a body came to substantial agreement he did not see why we should not say that we would take it as a basis for legislation within a year after the end of the war.

This proposal has been welcomed by Mr. M. K. Gandhi. Following the debate, the *News Chronicle* wired to him inquiring his attitude to the proposal. This reply, cabled from Wardha, was published on Wednesday:

"The proposal for convening a committee of leaders to reach preliminary agreement is attractive, provided the leaders are elected, not nominated, according to an acceptable procedure. This is my personal view. I have not consulted my colleagues."

Let us hope that this ray of hope will not be extinguished by the indifference which seems to characterize so many MPs.

Maurice Healy Again

MR. MAURICE HEALY, KC, has been at it again. A fortnight ago I drew attention to a lack of logic which was apparent in one of his "postscripts" to a BBC news bulletin.

In Sunday evening's "postscript" he spoke in contemptuous terms of pacifists, and in this connexion Mr. T. R. Jenkins, of Wembley Park, writes:

"The political pacifist was the first to be disposed of. You want to negotiate, said Mr. Healy,

India: A Hopeful Proposal A Reply to Maurice Healy Are the Unemployed Human?

but how can you? You know well that everything Hitler signs is sacred only so long as it suits him.

"You say, he continued, that the fault of the present war can be traced to Versailles, but you do not realize that the first German war of 1914-1918 originated in the Wilhelmstrasse.

"The French with their realism would have checked the German menace, but we 'British sentimentalists' allowed it to continue in the hope that it was merely the growing pains of a nation.

"How can you negotiate, therefore—the Germans are evil and are led by an evil man, whose promise is made only to be broken as and when it suits him.

"But despite Mr. Healy's dogma, there is an answer. Whilst it may not be possible to arrive at an understanding with Hitler, it is also equally certain that obstacles to peace are not only to be found in German opinion.

"Therefore the political pacifist urges that people here must become so convinced of the need for progressive policies that their implications will be irresistible and that the German people would not tolerate a mere Hitler's personal aggrandisement to rob them of peace with security.

"There can be no lasting peace accruing from a peace settlement which merely calls a halt to the clash of arms. Constructive suggestions must be made, concessions must be made by Britain as well as Germany, the differences must be approached in a spirit of good will and co-operation.

"This must be done even after this war, if there is to be a lasting and durable peace. If it must be done sometime, why not do it now, whilst our minds are reasonably free from hatred, and as yet we are not completely ruined, physically, mentally and economically?

"Of course, to approach a settlement with Mr. Healy's mental attitude is to live for ever in a constant recurrence of bloody and expensive wars.

"Then the religious pacifist. Mr. Healy, with consummate ease, produced a passage from the New Testament dealing with the parable of the husbandmen who killed the son of the lord of the vineyard. The lord of the vineyard, on hearing of the death of his son, said: 'I will come and miserably destroy those wicked husbandmen and give the vineyard to others. Now, said Mr. Healy suavely, it is obvious that the lord of the vineyard represents God and the son typifies Christ, and as Christ was speaking of His Father, it would not be possible for God, His Father, to adopt a course diametrically opposed to Christ's philosophy. Therefore, he

concluded, with triumph, it is obvious that in certain circumstances the use of force is justified.

"There can be no answer. Mr. Healy's brilliant logic has shattered the case of Christian pacifism. Why are these people so blind as never to see this?

"But wait; the reasoning is not so brilliant as it sounds. It is God who destroys the husbandmen; God—not man. Is it God who destroys the Nazis? War is man against man. This parable is no justification for man taking up arms against man, only God can destroy, if this parable means anything at all.

"As a matter of fact the Son of God was killed by man, and what has happened? Has God destroyed wicked man? No. In Christ he has redeemed him, so if God spares man who killed His Son, surely we ought to spare the Nazis, who after all are as misguided as we are ourselves."

"Resentment" Against C.O.s

MR. ERNEST BROWN, Minister of Labour and National Service, was questioned regarding the position of conscientious objectors in Parliament last Thursday.

Brigadier-General Sir Ernest Makins (Con., Knutsford) said there was resentment felt at the fact that a large number of conscientious objectors were better off financially than men in the fighting Services, and asked if he thought that a man should benefit by refusing to fight for his country.

"Is the Minister aware," he asked, "of the rising tide of indignation among men in the Services?"

Mr. Brown told the brigadier-general he could help by doing something to break down the prejudices of the farmers in his division against using men assigned to land work.

Men or Labour Units?

ARE you unemployed? Is your grate empty, your larder bare?

If so, don't despair. You may be a misery to yourself, a burden to your family, but you're an asset to the Government.

During the debate on man-power in Parliament on Tuesday of last week, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour suggested that a reserve of labour on which we could draw was not a liability, but an asset. Our unemployment, he added, was a hidden reserve of power which other countries did not possess.

Seriously, though, could there be anything more cynical than the way in which war leads men in responsible jobs to talk of their fellow-men who have no jobs at all as though they were mere cyphers, units of labour-power?

And could there be anything more heart-breaking than the way in which even the Labour movement, which should always insist on the right of the unemployed to be treated first as human beings and not labour-units, said through its own daily paper:

"As long as the war lasts Britain cannot produce too much food, or too many merchant ships, or too many warships, or too many aeroplanes.

"So why should any fit man be left without work?"

Tailpiece

I NOTICED this wonderful example of what happens to logic in war-time in the *Daily Mirror* on Saturday:

"As for the Peace Pledge Union! Would even we in Britain, long-suffering as we are, permit a society pledged to war at any price to exist? Of course not.

"Then why should we permit an organization pledged to peace at any price?"

EPITAPH FOR UNEMPLOYED

An epitaph inscribed to the memory of the British workman and soldier, and suitable for the tombstones of the unemployed:

Here Lie
The mortal remains of
John Smith
who worked hard and died poor
supported through all the trials
and vicissitudes of life by
The Reflection
that
He was the Proud Inheritor
of a share
In the Glorious Empire
Upon which the Sun
Never Sets
at his death
he was placed in this grave
and his share of
The Glorious Empire
was reverently shovelled in on top
of him so that he came by
his own in
THE END
—The Journeyman Baker, London.

THEREFORE . . .

By WILFRED WELLOCK

The War's Challenge To Pacifists

NO-ONE can escape the war's challenge, and no Peace Pledge Union member wants to. Everywhere I find members of the PPU torn with concern as to how they can best serve the cause of humanity at this time.

Many are feeling that words count for very little while war rages, and that the most effective expression of the pacifist faith is action, adventurous living.

Far more is to be said for this view than appears on the surface, and I rejoice in the numerous experiments that are being made in this almost unexplored field of sacrificial endeavour.

At the same time I think it would be a mistake to under-estimate the need for what is called—perhaps wrongly—propaganda.

After all, the public is very ignorant about the causes of war, and of this war in particular, while the newspapers, which in the main represent the dominant class in our society, tell the public little more than they want it to know.

It is most important that this deficiency be made good, and that the PPU accept a measure of responsibility in this connexion.

How many people realize that the world after this war will be vastly different from the world we left on September 3, 1939?

To Save Democracy

If this war is fought to a finish via either a long war on the economic front or a shorter war on the military front, a super financial and economic world crisis is inevitable.

In that crisis anything can happen, but in it totalitarianism will spread. Revolution is probable and may be widespread, but all

it will do will be to decide the variety of the consequent tyranny.

The only chance of saving democracy is in an early ending of the war. But how can it be ended?

I believe that if the realities of the present world situation were clearly grasped the war would be stopped instantly by universal demand, including that of the governing classes.

Hence the spreading of vital knowledge quickly is an urgent need.

The purpose of that effort should be to inspire fundamental change within and heroic sacrifice by our nation, as the world's strongest "economic" Power, in order to rally the common people of the world for peace; for they all want peace and the things which belong to peace.

The supreme tragedy of this war is that it is calling for the sacrifice of the wrong things, of millions of young lives in order to maintain a decaying social system, instead of the sacrifice of the old order and especially of the privileges upon which it rests. Because our civilization has insisted on retaining social privilege, class domination, imperialism, monopoly, and all the other adjuncts of power-politics, it is breaking down, and iconoclasts are being called in to clear away the obstacles to progress.

Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, are all iconoclasts. Their positive contribution to civilization is as yet indeterminable. And, strange though it may seem, this war, which is ostensibly an attempt to throw over the iconoclasts, will in fact throw up many more, who will be as ruthless as their forerunners.

Is it not possible to end this insupportable tragedy, the sacrifice of precious lives in order to defend the indefensible, the very evils which called it forth? Unless we do

end it this war will lead to a staggering impasse from which new dictators will seek to deliver us by means of totalitarian terror.

In that event we shall all be isolated and thrown upon our own intellectual and spiritual resources, possibly within concentration camps.

New Methods Needed

Therefore I think all PPU members must try to answer this challenge to all the values for which they stand, in every possible way. At the same time I am convinced we must think out new methods of influencing the public. The day of public meetings is nearly gone, while political dog-fights are a nightmare. The pursuit of new methods of propaganda may be assisted by the emergence of many new facts. For instance, one of the lessons of totalitarianism is that the classes which hitherto have used war to defend their status and privileges must now give it up or be hoist with their own petard. Can we not find ways and means of conveying this knowledge to those concerned?

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CHARLES N. SADLER: If We Had Tribunals for Soldiers

WHEN the Great War was resumed in 1939, after an armistice of twenty-one years, tribunals were set up to judge the consciences of men refusing to take part in it. It was assumed that all men would fight unless they had reasons for not doing so.

Of course there were many reasons, but the absurdity of it was that a man should be expected to act without reason unless he could find reasons against it—and reasons that would convince an antagonistic tribunal that his conscience was against his taking part in the war.

* * *

JOHN realized the absurdity of it. "We don't ask men why they don't commit murder, climb mountains or swim lakes. We assume that they won't do these things unless they have reasons for doing so. Why then should our attitude be different when a man doesn't go and fight?"

He was a powerful orator and his logic convinced all who heard him. His talks were translated into many languages and broadcast all over the world until even Herr Hitler and Mr. Churchill were convinced of the truth of his conclusions. He always carried his arguments to their logical ends and instead of saying that war was illegal, he allowed that citizens could fight in wars providing that they could satisfy a tribunal that their consciences were prompting them.

So tribunals for soldiers were set up.

At first it seemed that thousands of such tribunals would be needed, but when the soldiers were told that they could only continue in the service by going before a tribunal the vast majority of them could not find any reasons for fighting that would satisfy their consciences. So they went back to their homes and lived useful civilian lives. Some, however, went before the tribunals.

There are a few reports of the proceedings of these soldiers' tribunals and I quote extracts from two cases.

* * *

THE first is from that of George Robins, who wanted to fight "to protect his wife and family":—

Tribunal: Against what are you going to protect them?

G. R.: Against Nazi brutality under Hitler.

T.: How?

G. R.: By defeating the Germans and giving them a better government.

T.: Don't you see that by having a war you are endangering the people you wish to protect? While you are fighting in France aeroplanes will be dropping bombs in England.

G. R.: That has to be risked. Better be bombed than live under Hitler.

T.: But isn't there another way? To call a peace conference for the better arrangement of the world's affairs?

G. R.: We won't get anywhere by conferences with Hitler.

T.: Will we get anywhere by war? After all the horrors of the last war we are back where we were in 1914.

G. R.: But Hitler wants to conquer England and put us all in concentration camps.

T.: He can't do that on his own and few people would support him in that project. Not many soldiers are passing the tribunals in Germany. Don't you see that the best way to protect your family is to maintain peace, since war is the greatest danger to them?

* * *

THE second extract is from the case of William Jones, who wanted to fight for "a New World Order."

T.: How do you propose to get this "New World Order"?

W. J.: By defeating Hitler and instituting Federal Union as a step to the World State.

T.: Do you know that the leaders under whom you would be fighting and who would arrange the peace terms are fighting to preserve the existing order of things? Do you know that there is a strong body of opinion, especially in France, that wants the treaty to be more severe than the last? Do you think that a treaty at the end of a long war will be any better than the Versailles Treaty?

W. J.: These things can be defeated afterwards; first we must smash Hitler.

T.: But the decision will not be in your hands. If there is anything left of our civilization at the end of such a war, it will be in the hands of the

generals and Tory statesmen. Can you see them planning your New World Order?

A FEW soldiers passed the tribunals and two small armies faced each other from the Siegfried and Maginot lines.

But there were so many officers necessary along such a long front that there were no privates to whom they could give orders. Nobody knows quite what happened to these small armies of officers for no one took much interest in their activities, but it is believed that in ones and twos they drifted back to civilian life.

* * *

When Nazis Were Beaten By Non-Violence

Last week we published the first instalment of a remarkable account of non-violent resistance to the Nazis by Danes. Here is the second: the third and last will appear next week.

The writer is Mr. E. D. Chase, a correspondent of the Nofrontier News Service.

*

IN the meantime the drama was going on in other fields as well. Until the coming of the Nazis, Danish and German schools had gone along together quite peacefully. Then, almost overnight, the German schools were turned into propaganda headquarters. Nazi teachers replaced "unconverted" German teachers. Hitler's picture appeared on school-room walls, and morning prayers were said for the "Fuehrer" and for deliverance from the Danish "oppression."

For the Danes it required the greatest self-control to keep their promise of absolute liberty for the Germans. They did, however, and the German schools continued to teach their creed of hate without interference from the Danes. They had a better way of dealing with the problem. Under the patient and intelligent leadership of such organizations as the Women's League for Peace and Freedom, The Young Border Guards, and the heads of the Danish schools, they began to teach a policy of calm, and of friendliness between German and Dane. Above all they had to prevent the Germans from creating "incidents" which might give the Nazis an excuse to act.

Provocation Ignored

By 1936 it was clear that Berlin actually had its eyes upon North Schleswig. Local Nazi organizations were receiving German money, German propaganda was redoubled, and a German memorandum came into Danish hands in which three points were outlined which were to be "solved, at once and simultaneously." These points were, first, Jutland's position from a military point of view between the Baltic and the North Sea; second, Danish agricultural exports to Germany; third, the "impossible" situation of the minority in the border regions.

The way in which this memorandum was found indicated that it had been "planted" purposely in order to create tension at the frontier. Therefore the Danes said nothing about it, and today it reposes in a quiet place in the Foreign Office, and few people know of its existence. But other signs, open to all to read, showed clearly that the stage was being set to make North Schleswig another Sudetenland. German propaganda at that time was emphasizing "Northern solidarity." A doctrine of friendly relations between the Scandinavians and the Germans, who, after all, were good blond Germanics together, was preached from Berlin to all of Scandinavia except North Schleswig. There a doctrine of hatred against the "stupid" and "backward oppressors," the Danes, was preached.

The German minority quickly caught up the battle cry from across the border, and it soon became impossible for Danes and Germans to

War Resisters Abroad

The following informative group talks have been arranged by the War Resisters' International group of speakers:

April 20: Bishopston, George H. Lockett. April 23: Dulwich, Kenneth V. Clark. April 25: Wallington and Carshalton, Kenneth V. Clark. April 27: South Woodford, C. E. Harrington. April 29: Paddington and North Kensington, J. G. Forsyth. May 6: South Kensington, C. E. Harrington. May 7: St. Martins-in-the-Fields, W.C., Eric T. Roach. May 7: Southampton, Basil Loveridge and Frank White. May 8: Hackney, Eric T. Roach. May 9: Kentish Town, Stanley Cooper. May 9: Norbury, Kenneth V. Clark. May 10: Upper and South Norwood, Sydney P. Larcombe. May 14: Hayes (Middx.), Eric Dixon. May 21: Gloucester, George H. Lockett. May 21: Ealing, Eric Dixon. May 23: Kettering, William Harrison. May 28: Brixton and Stockwell, Sydney P. Larcombe. May 31: Hook, Tothworth and Claygate, Sydney P. Larcombe.

On dates yet to be fixed: Stoke-on-Trent, Oldham, Scunthorpe, St. Albans, Furzedown College, Tunstall, Bacup, Norwich, Wellington (Somerset).

Any other groups wishing to hear about the work being done abroad for war resistance should communicate with: Mr. Sydney P. Larcombe or Miss Grace M. Beaton (Gen. Sec.) at 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middx.

WE CAN TALK PEACE WITH HITLER.

(continued from page 1)

not want those services now to reach agreement on the best way to meet the needs of the millions of ordinary folk that inhabit this globe? Is it still this country's policy that (in the words of the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on October 3 last) "nobody desires the war to continue for an unnecessary day"?

Whatever politicians who put commercial and national interests before human interests may say (and politicians are not the only people who put human interests in the background), the growing number of people who see this business in human terms are longing for just this kind of opportunity. Women, in particular, will

echo the Dutch Premier's appeal to reason "to stave off the immeasurable disaster," and they have their chance to express their longing in the Appeal to Governments petition sponsored by the Women's Peace Campaign.

But wherever and however it may be expressed, the steady growth of the practice of regarding and treating people as human persons is the surest and truly revolutionary step to peace, just as the growing practice of treating men as servants of a State or as man-power was the surest way to a state of war, whether declared or not.

Humphrey S. Moore

talk politics together. But the Danes had a better way of fighting the spread of Nazism than by suppression or force. Already in 1933 an organization calling itself "The Young Border Guard" had been formed. Directed by the intelligent and energetic Mr. Markussen, a Dane, who had given up a good position to devote himself entirely to this work, set about strengthening Danish culture among the borderers, long under Germanic influence.

With the coming of Hitler, Markussen's job also took on a political character, and a very ticklish one at that. As the direction of German movements became clear, he saw that his work must be done both energetically and at the same time cautiously, for if he merely succeeded in creating bitterness between Danes and Germans, he would only be giving the Germans the "incidents" and openings they were looking for. So instead of railing against the Germans and their propaganda, he started his own propaganda for a true Scandinavian unity.

United Youth

He organized the various existing youth groups in the district, such as sporting clubs, cultural clubs, and the like, into his Young Border Guard. They held meetings in which Danish speakers calmly set forth the advantages of a truly independent Scandinavia, analyzed for the listeners the real meaning of the German propaganda, instructed the young people in the best way to deal with Nazi provocations—turning a deaf ear. They

built youth hostels, and invited youth groups from Sweden, Norway and Finland, and from the other parts of Denmark to come down for a visit. In a few years some ten thousand young people from the other Scandinavian countries accepted the invitation, and in this way the young people from the border, who had been cut off from Scandinavia for so long, were reacquainted with their own countrymen and with their neighbours to the North.

In the meantime the German minority was becoming more and more obstreperous. With each new conquest that Hitler made, their cries to the "Fuehrer" to come and liberate them grew louder. Money poured into them from Berlin, their German language newspaper grew more militant. But through all this the work of the Young Border Guard, of the Women's League for Peace and Freedom, of the Danish school teachers, bore its fruit. With almost unbelievable self-control and coolness the Danes kept their heads and refused to give the Germans the slightest ground for legitimate protest. In fact, as the director of the normal school told me, this attitude on the part of the Danes proved most awkward to the Germans. The director said that one of the German leaders, with whom he was on pretty good terms, came to him one day and with a wry smile, said: "You know, I wish you Danes would oppress us a little. We are losing our following because we can't show them that they are being badly treated."

(To be concluded)

LANTERN LECTURE

We are inclined to be devotees of the magic lantern, which, as Edith Sitwell has pointed out, possesses many merits not shared by the cinematograph. It gives you, for instance, time to inspect each picture in detail, and time to ponder it. You can rest at a lantern lecture. But at a cinema you just rush breathlessly along in the wake of a whirling film, and if your thoughts wander for a moment you are lost.

We went a little while ago to a lantern lecture on Palestine. Many of the slides were quite beautiful; nor was there any lack of light relief. One slide gave a diverting glimpse of the lecturer himself (or so we inferred from the general laughter), book in hand and sunshade over head, reclining in a bathing suit upon the waters of the Dead Sea. He was perfectly safe: for, as all who have ever listened to Addresses to Young People know well, nothing sinks in the Dead Sea. What you put in you can always get out.

In this respect—but in this respect only!—the Dead Sea is really not unlike the St. Pancras Building Society. What you put in you can always get out. Your investment can be withdrawn in full, simply and without cost, when you need it; so that the capital cannot depreciate. For interest you receive three-and-a-half per cent. free of tax, which, with income tax at the present rate, gives you well over 5½ per cent. gross.



SAVE TO

CONSTRUCT

Managing Director: E. W. BALES

ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY
ST. PANCRAS HOUSE, PARKWAY, N.W.1.

By Dr. ALEX WOOD:

Our Methods Must be Consistent With Our Ends

Methods which pacifists should adopt in working for a warless world will be one of the subjects under discussion at the annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union in London this weekend.

Two schools of thought—which may be described as the political and the personal—will be in evidence.

In this article the national chairman of the PPU, Dr. Alex Wood, examines both methods and discusses their relationship to each other and to the goal of the PPU.

IMMEDIATELY we have come to a decision as to the desirability of achieving some social end the question of the right means to adopt at once presents itself. How shall we work for the reform which we desire? How shall we attempt to secure the abolition of capital punishment, the freedom of the industrial worker, the elimination of class privilege and domination, or the ending of war?

Broadly speaking there are two types of method—the personal and the political. The one thinks in terms of personal work with individuals and concentrates on the men and women who are to be the citizens of the new order. The other thinks in terms of men and women in the mass and the

right organization of their relationships in the new world which is to be.

These two types of method tend to make their appeal to two different types of person. The first attracts the person who believes in personal witness, in the conversion of the individual, in the quiet spreading of the truth and who dislikes mass demonstrations, poster processions and all the noisy methods of political propaganda. The second makes its appeal to those who are filled with a sense of urgency, who regard personal methods as fatally slow, who feel committed to arresting, dramatic action and who have no hesitation about the use of at least some kinds of political coercion.

In a movement which includes all kinds of pacifists, and it is the glory of the Peace Pledge Union that it does; these alternative methods of action must always present a challenge, giving rise as they do to strains and stresses which must be handled with all the wisdom we possess.

Changing the Individual—

LET us consider first of all the personal method.

It is in keeping with a deep and widespread disillusionment not only with regard to existing political parties but with regard

to the whole field of politics. It is in line with a growing conviction in some quarters that all methods that attempt to deal with mankind in the war are beginning at the wrong end, that social progress is impeded not by the evils of our "system" but by the personal failures of the people responsible for working it and that the crying need of our time is not for a better system but for better men and women.

Clearly it is useless to have a world that is organized for peace unless the men and women in it are capable of living peaceably together. We must therefore get back to dealing personally with the individual and above all with ourselves. Let us frankly admit that there are some pacifists who could not live peaceably in their own Utopia. Get the individual right and the system will take care of itself.

—and the System

BUT there is a rival school of thought. Its exponents have no sympathy with the individualist doctrine. To them, concern for the individual in general and oneself in particular is merely morbid and is an escape from political realism.

Human weaknesses and defects are not native to the soul, they are products of the capitalist system. What is wanted is not peaceful people—all people are naturally peaceful—what is wanted is a peaceful international order and all will then be well.

This view of society is regarded in turn by its opponents as mere wishful thinking—an attempt to escape from the challenge of the evil in our own hearts and the call to right action in our own limited sphere.

The Real Division

THE existence of these two strains of thought in the Union is revealed by the criticisms of policy so often made—that the Union is becoming "too religious" or "too political," or that it has gone "all Oxford Group."

The true line of separation is not that between religion and politics; it is probably much more the fundamental psychological division between the introvert and the extrovert. The fact that policy is criticized from both points of view is a pretty fair indication that extremes are being avoided, and this surely must be our aim.

Those who stress the more personal methods are undoubtedly right. If we are to command respect and win support we must show a quality of life consistent with our pacifist professions. More conversions are made by life by than logic. The despair of our opponents is the pacifist who is uncompromising in his witness and whose character they feel bound to admire. But those who feel that personal methods are the right ones must not jump to the conclusion that they are the only right ones.

Dislike of political methods may be no more than a personal idiosyncrasy. I have taken part in many processions, political and religious, and can only hope that I looked less unhappy than I felt. I have never been sure how far my conviction that processions did no good arose out of my dislike of making an ass of myself in public!

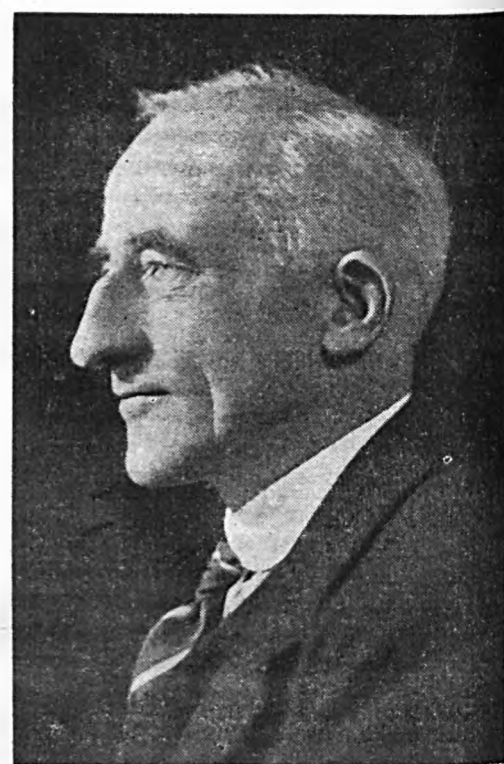
Face the Limitations

THEN again those who believe in what may be called methods of conversion ought frankly to face the limitations of these methods. It is not only that they are slow. If the abolition of crude slavery had awaited the complete and universal conversion of the slave-owners, slavery might still be a flourishing institution.

But there is a more important limitation. No change in the personal relations of owner and slave would in itself have been sufficient if the owner was left with absolute power over his slave. The political relationship—the "system"—was wrong and would have remained wrong if it had been worked by a company of archangels.

The same considerations apply to the wage relation today; it is wrong in itself because of the concentration of power in the hands of a few individuals who are responsible to no-one.

In the same way a Pax Romana or even a Pax Britannica can never be a final solution of the international problem. A tyranny is always unstable, however wise and benevolent. International relations must be so organized that power is distributed, not concentrated, and so that



DR. ALEX WOOD,
National Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union.

those who exercise power are responsible to those over whom it is exercised.

Religion and Politics

THE failure of Christian people, especially during the nineteenth century, to appreciate the importance of politics was responsible for the worst features of the industrial revolution as has been so admirably shown by Tawney in his *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*.

Even since 1918, although a considerable change of attitude has been apparent, the aloofness of Christian people from politics has been one of the contributory causes of the disaster which has now overtaken us.

This is a defence of political methods but not of all political methods. Aldous Huxley has provided us with a criterion by which all methods must be judged. Our means must be consistent with our end. A peaceful world can only be achieved by pacific means, and if we are to secure a world which is free from aggression and domination and coercion, our methods, too, must be free from these things.

Both Methods Needed

HARMONY in our movement can only be maintained by a frank recognition of some of these truths.

We may have our own favourite type of method, but let us freely concede the importance of embracing both types of method in the Union; and when we sanction and encourage the use of political methods let us be scrupulously careful to choose methods which are characteristically pacifist and wholly consistent with our end.

Books

The Background of the War

Our Own Times: 1913-1939. Stephen King-Hall. Nicholson and Watson. 10s. 6d.
From War to War: A date book of the years between 1917-1940. Stephen Graham. Hutchinson. 10s. 6d.

HERE is a guinea's-worth of historical background to the war by two writers who have some claim to being knowledgeable political commentators.

King-Hall's book is a revised edition of the history he first published in 1935, brought up to the outbreak of war, and now comprising 1,222 pages. One need not share the author's sympathies to pay him a tribute for a survey that is at once comprehensive and selective. The appendices cover 260 pages alone, and include the Covenant of the League, notes on the conquest of Abyssinia and the Colonial Problem, an admirably selected chronology, 1913-1939, and an index that is a model for books of this kind.

Mr. Graham's date-book was compiled to fill a need he himself felt. It is a need shared by others, notably journalists, speakers and all who venture into controversy. The division of the book is by years, the annual sections being sub-divided into two: lists of chief events, and notes on special events arranged under countries. It is not a perfect arrangement (nor is this claimed), but it has resulted in a useful reference book. Again, the pacifist will not

(Continued on opposite page)

THE WAR—BY ARTISTS

ARTISTS are people who have eyes and minds of their own and pacifists will find an exhibition at the Stafford Gallery in London—it is in St. James's Place, off St. James's Street, Piccadilly—an encouraging example of artists' frankness.

The show is called "This War as I see it," and about 100 artists have sent pictures that they have recently painted.

The extraordinary thing is that not a single picture supports the official pleading that this is a war for freedom and Christian principles: on the contrary, practically every artist has gone a long way on the road to suggesting that this war, like all other wars, is an affair of death and disintegration. The artists—and it may be noted that very few of those engaged on official propaganda or official commissions have found time to be represented here—are not pacifists, but they certainly express, through their canvases, the truth about the war as pacifists see it.

The suggestion is carried out brilliantly by Olga Lehmann in a big picture called "Progress." This coloured cartoon (reproduced here) reveals the forces of war and destruction massed around the figure of progress with a large book in her arms and holding aloft the torch of enlightenment.

It is worth while for pacifists to risk a shilling on the exhibition. The price includes a catalogue, in which most of the outstanding pictures are reproduced.



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Facts and Figures

IN view of two denials issued at the beginning of this month in connexion with evidence published in the United States of a war-time iron and coke trade between Germany and France, we print this week further facts published in America in the light of those denials.

The main points of M. de Monzie's denial, as French Minister of Public Works, were: (1) Coke and ore trains to Germany were halted on September 1; (2) French interests in Luxembourg no longer received German coke or sold steel to Germany; (3) "As regards Belgium and Luxembourg, both neutral countries, France continues to furnish them with their allotment of iron in accord with their regular consumption, or only somewhat higher in view of the increased activity of their industries"; (4) "The only coke delivered to France is produced in Belgium cokeries"; (5) All the iron ore returns to France in the form of steel.

The Brussels ore firm, Cosibel (Comptoir de la Vente de la Sidurgie Belge), as quoted by the trade magazine, *Iron Age*, declared that: "Iron ore which will be supplied (by France) to Belgium, in execution of the agreement in question, will be completely consumed in Belgium, and that coal and coke to be supplied to France will be completely and exclusively of Belgian origin."

Uncensored, a New York weekly which counts among its distinguished "editorial sponsors" the well-known American journalist, Oswald Garrison Villard, pointed out in its issue of April 6 that the phrase in italics in the French denial can mean anything at all, but that in any case "both statements omitted reference to the fact that Belgium lacks sufficient coking coal to fill her own needs and thus has no export surplus of her own. Nor did they point out that even if only coal of Belgian origin is being shipped to France, such shipments are only made possible by importing German coal" (for Belgian needs).

On December 27 last, after the facts had originally been published in the *Iron Age* and the French Government and the arms firm, Comite des Forges, had issued denials, the *New York Times* observed: "The French and German interests officially might indeed never know of the original sources of the Belgian supplies." Uncensored (April 6) continues:

"Not even in the rigidly controlled French papers has the story been completely suppressed. December 20, 1939, the Paris *Soir* carried a dispatch from Brussels which said that apparently Germany had stopped shipping coal into Belgium a few days before. One of the three possible explanations of the reputed German action advanced was that Germany might have wished to abandon trade in a product that was 'partly re-exported to France.' Other reasons suggested were that Germany was bringing pressure on Belgium to wean her away from too strict adherence to the Franco-British blockade, or that Germany was temporarily short of freight cars. Cynically, the *Soir* story added that the three explanations were 'generally considered equally valid.'"

"January 12, *Nouvel Age*, another Paris paper published the following: 'We have been informed by at least ten independent informants that consignments of Lorraine ore to Germany and consignments of coke from the Ruhr to Lorraine continue...'

"This week another dispatch to *Iron Age* further weakens the official denials. Although the new information comes from Hamburg, it ties in too well with material presented by Hanighen and others to be discounted as something cooked up by Dr. Goebbels. The *Iron Age* correspondent writes: 'Luxembourg is now a member of the French-Belgian-Luxembourgian pig iron cartel, which also controls the whole export trade. The central sales office is in Paris. The majority of the shares of the cartel is in French hands. Now Luxembourg is absolutely dependent upon supplies of coke and coal from Germany. Without these supplies three-fourths of the works would close down. These are bartered for pig iron and steel. The pig iron for export to Germany (mainly foundry and Bessemer) is sold by the cartel, and the invoices, &c., are made up in Paris for the account of the German buyers.'"

U.S. WOMEN URGE NEUTRALITY

The Women's Peace Union in America has sent a telegram to Mr. Cordell Hull, US Secretary of State, urging that America be kept out of war, not only for the sake of its own people, but "that Europe's agony be the shorter."

"We urge you," said the telegram, "to take strong measures against munition makers, diplomats, and politicians, wherever active, who if uncurbed will involve our country in Europe's suicidal folly."

The Lesson of the Last War

"The lesson of the last war is that you get neither democracy, nor liberty, nor peace out of a world war however noble the ends for which it is fought."—Lord Lothian (now British Ambassador to the USA) in a letter to *The Times*, August 25, 1937.

News of Objectors (See also page 8)

C.O.s Who Refuse to Register : Others Readier to Disobey at Later Stages

A NUMBER of conscientious objectors have felt that they cannot avail themselves of the provision made for them under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act.

To register or not to register is clearly a problem which the individual objector must decide for himself.

The objector who steadfastly asserts that he will accept no condition of exemption, has occasionally been asked by tribunals why he has bothered to register or to appear.

One such applicant replied that he was bound to, and was told "You are not bound to." Others have replied that they wish to testify to their beliefs, and it is probably this desire which influences a number of conscientious objectors who might otherwise ignore the concessions of the Act to register and to appear before a tribunal.

It seems that it is much harder for many people to ignore a registration day or to return a printed form than to perform more spectacular acts of disobedience. This is noticeable in COs who have failed to secure exemption. They picture themselves refusing to put on uniform, but do not seem to be attracted by the more logical course of non-compliance from the beginning, such as refusal to attend a medical examination.

The position of the CO who does not

register is covered to this extent by the Act:

Section 5 (7):

"The Minister may provisionally register in the register of conscientious objectors any person liable under this Act to be called up for service, notwithstanding that he has refused or failed to make any application in that behalf, if, in the Minister's opinion, there are reasonable grounds for thinking that he is a conscientious objector, and the Minister may refer the case of that person to a local tribunal; and thereupon the provisions of this section shall have effect in relation to that person as if the necessary applications had been made by him, and references in this section to the 'applicant' shall be deemed to include references to him."

Cases of conscientious objectors provisionally registered by the Minister have come before tribunals with varying results. It is clear that if such cases are to secure exemption they must have an exceptionally strong pacifist background. The act of not registering cannot for obvious reasons be taken as evidence of a conscientious objection.

The man who does not register should appreciate that he is putting himself outside the Act, and should be prepared to face the consequences. And if he does

consequently find himself in the army he cannot expect to avail himself of the provisions available for those who have registered.

Two cases of non-registration have come before the Appellate Tribunal. The applicants were dismissed by the local tribunal, and the Minister appealed against the decisions. In one case a long correspondence had passed between the Minister and the applicant, and this was put before the Appellate Tribunal, with the recommendation that the applicant be unconditionally exempt. The Chairman, however, expressed the opinion that in the absence of the applicants it was not possible to arrive at a conclusion, and the two cases were adjourned *sine die*.

★

THOSE objectors who register and then fail to appear before the tribunal are almost invariably dismissed. They can, however, avail themselves of the provisions of the Act: that if they find themselves in the army and, disobeying orders for conscientious reasons, are sentenced to three months' imprisonment or more, they may appeal to the Appellate Tribunal.

The concessions which the National Service (Armed Forces) Act makes to conscientious objectors are a measure of the growth and influence of pacifist thought in the last twenty years. But it can be argued that preoccupation with these concessions may prove a brake on the progress of revolutionary pacifism. The pacifist movement cannot rest entirely on the witness of the conscientious objectors.

There is also the danger that through these concessions pacifists may be discredited by those who are anxious to evade military service. There will always be a number of men who will look upon a conscientious objector's stand as a relatively easy way out.

There are uncertain and unconvinced men in the army who cannot reach the point of objecting, and there are uncertain and unconvinced conscientious objectors who cannot reach the point of military service.

There is this difference, that a man does not have to go before a tribunal before he is conscripted, and no limelight of publicity shows up the uncertain in the army.

M.S.

The Background of the War

(continued from page 4)

share the author's weighting of events, but at least he can write:

I have begun this date book with the Russian Revolution in 1917, because I think the dethronement of Capitalism and the setting up of the first Totalitarian state a more significant starting point than Princip's shot in Sarajevo... the revolution in Russia made a new starting point in world history, introducing the new type of conflict called class war. For that reason the history of the present time may be understood as a continuation of the Russian Revolution rather than as a continuation of the struggle against militarism; democratic Capitalism in a defensive war against ever-encroaching Totalitarianism—Liberty at bay.

A Modern Pilgrim's Progress

On Two Fronts, by T. C. P. Catchpool. Preface by the Rt. Hon. George Lansbury. Allen and Unwin, 1s.

THIS modern Pilgrim's Progress describes the outward and inward adventures of a mind set on good will to men. The story passes through the sufferings and heroisms of battle-fronts to the solitariness of prison cells. One feels the "desperate tides of the great world's anguish forced through the channel of a single heart." An intense sympathy with Tommies and Poilus sharing the consequences of the war, drives the author to seek the causes and cure of it all. This adventure of peace passes through very dark tunnels in which the "inner light" of Christian inspiration flickers at times, but never fails to illuminate the next step forward.

Mr. Lansbury's preface refers briefly to the author's direct share in subsequent peace-making efforts during the years of his Quaker Embassy and Relief work in Central Europe. This was recognized by the Prague Government's bestowal upon him of the distinguished Order of the White Lion of Czechoslovakia. The book is invaluable for examining and for explaining the spiritual problem of the conscientious objector.

G. M. LI. D.

ADVICE FOR THOSE WHO WILL REGISTER TOMORROW

MEN who reached the age of 26 during 1939, or who became twenty since April 6, 1940, are required to register under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, tomorrow, Saturday.

Here are some hints for them on the procedure:

You may register at any labour exchange. If you are ill you may send a written application for registration to any labour exchange.

You are required to register whether or not you are in a reserved occupation.

If you fail to register you become liable to a fine not exceeding £5.

If the authorities have reason to think that you may be a conscientious objector they have power to register you provisionally in the Register of Conscientious Objectors.

You should take your Identity Card and Unemployment Book (if any) to the nearest Labour Exchange. If you wish to register as a conscientious objector state this before you answer questions or sign forms. Your particulars may then be taken by a different official or in a different room. You may be required to furnish the following particulars: name and home address; date and place of birth; whether married or single; full names of father and mother including mother's maiden surname; number of employment book; present (or, if unemployed, last) employment; particulars of usual occupation. These particulars will be taken down by an official and will be signed by you.

The applicant will be handed two forms:

1. N.S. 61.—A postcard "Certificate of Provisional Registration in the Register of COs. On this card the holder's name, address and date of birth will be filled in and there is a space for the holder's signature. This certificate must be kept carefully. If you change your home address or change your name there is a space on the back of the certificate for the new particulars. You must fill this in and post the form back. Failure to do so renders you liable to a fine up to £5.

The other form that will be received is 2. N.S. 14.—This is a foolscap form of application to the local tribunal. This must be completed and posted to the address given on it to be received there by the date indicated, which will be 14 days after registration. (A certificate of posting can be obtained at the post office for 4d.)

This form (N.S. 14) has a space for "Any statement you wish to submit in support of your application." At the foot of the form the three grounds of objection are stated: (a) To being registered in the Military Service Register. (b) To undergoing Military Service. (c) To performing combatant duties.

All three should ordinarily be left unless you are willing to do non-combatant military service, in which case (a) and (b) should be struck out leaving only (c) standing.

If the authorities decide that you are in a reserved occupation they will send you a circular saying that as long as you are so reserved you will not be called before a local tribunal unless you desire. If you do not desire to go before a tribunal until you are obliged, it is as well to reply saying that you are willing to appear whenever the authorities wish. This will prevent the tribunal from suggesting later that you were unwilling to appear.

If you fail to apply to be registered on the

Register of Conscientious Objectors and subsequently desire to do so the Act gives you the right to ask to be registered as a CO within two days after the date of medical examination.

Informatory literature (published by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1):

Troublesome People. Price 6d., post 1d.

CO and Tribunal. Price 3d., post 1d.

Commentary on National Service (Armed Forces) Act. Price 1d., post 1d.

The COs Hansard, Numbers 1, 2 and 3. Price 3d. each, post 1d.

The Appellate Tribunal. Price 6d., post 1d.

To Those who are Registering as COs. Sample copy 1d., post free, 6d. per 100 and 4s. per 1,000, post extra.

To COs Placed on the Military Service Register. Sample copy 1d., post free. 1s. per 100 and 10s. per 1,000, post extra.

To COs Wishing to Appeal. Sample copy 1d., post free, 1s. per 100 and 10s. per 1,000 post extra.

A Tribunal Member on C.O.s

THE impressions of an anonymous member of a tribunal for conscientious objectors appeared in *The Christian News-Letter* on March 27. Here is how he summed up the COs who had appeared before him:

"... the outstanding conviction as the result of the hearing of many cases is that of the undoubted honesty and sincerity of the applicants. Only a very few appear to be 'shirkers,' sheltering under the disguise of conscientious objectors in order to escape; these are of course replaced on the military register.

The tribunal has always required that applicants should either bring a witness to testify to his sincerity or letters from persons acquainted with his views; these have given striking evidence, often stating their personal disagreement with the attitude taken up and not infrequently that they have tried in vain to use persuasion.

"A surprisingly large number of applicants have themselves given practical evidence of their sincerity by their action in giving up their jobs when the firm by which they were employed undertook war-work; not a few of these stated that they had since been unemployed, having been rejected by employers on the ground of their objection to military service.

"Many again, who were unable to take combatant service, were eager to be posted to the RAMC, or even to mine-sweeping, being obviously ready to share the dangers of the combatant forces..."

MAY DAY, 1940

JAMES MAXTON, M.P.; FENNER BROCKWAY (Editor "New Leader"); CHRIS JONES (Colonial Leader); JOHN MCGOVERN, M.P.; DICK BOTELER (A.E.U.); JENNIE LEE (ex-M.P.); TREVOR WILLIAMS (Chairman).

At Conway Hall, W.C.1

Wednesday, May 1st, at 7 p.m.

Songs by Co-operative Choir. • Peace and Socialism Through International Solidarity.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Better Than Slogans

AS a propagandist of over 20 years' "active service" experience, I venture to suggest that mere sloganizing will not woo public opinion, and am convinced that the best method of approach would be:

1. Propagate "Peace Aims" involving neither surrender to Hitlerism nor acceptance of British Imperialism.

2. Urge that such Peace Aims should be submitted to both sides by a competent neutral as a basis for Peace Negotiations.

3. Rouse and organize public opinion here to demand that OUR Government accept this basis.

4. In the (likely) event of our government refusing, put the full political potentialities of the Peace Movement behind the recognized political party that accepts the basis.

While it is impossible to stop the war with slogans, it is possible so to educate public opinion that it will accept reason in place of revenge and reconciliation rather than hatred as the basis of a Peace Settlement. JIM SIMMONS.

35 Tonbridge Road,
Erdington, Birmingham 24.

"A Personal Matter"

Haven't we enough to do to fight the common foe of militarism or keep to the path of peace, without going aside to attack landlordism and capitalism?

You will probably say, as they all do, "It is a personal matter." Very well, take my case. I have worked at my job for about 20 years, investing in it the savings of 20 years before. I work to the uttermost of my strength to provide things honest in the sight of all men and keep a roof over my head. I am as poor today as when I started, and sometimes think if Hitler comes I cannot work any harder nor receive much less for it.

After fighting the frost all winter, fire swept across on the first warm day of spring, through the carelessness of a neighbour, ruining 1 acre of canes and bushes. I have spent time and money keeping up fences (which I am not required to do) to keep other people's cattle out, without complete success. Were I not a pacifist, I might threaten legal proceedings and obtain compensation. As it is, I turn to *Peace News*, where it might be expected to find a little consolation or a crumb of comfort.

Alas! I find according to the democratic ideals of our inspired writers that I am among the damned, being the cause of war, because I own a little piece of land. Though I be a pacifist, I thank my God that He has not committed the judgment of this old world nor the salvation of the next to their tender mercies.

Perhaps one day we may have a *Peace News* which proclaims the Gospel of Peace, instead of pacifism; for I am convinced they are as far apart as the Poles. At the risk of being ridiculous, I once more proclaim my slogan: Make Christ King!

J. BARNARD FOSTER.
"Bellmead," Valebridge Estate, Burgess Hill, Sussex.

Labour Party Conference

At the annual conference of the Labour Party next month, grave decisions will be taken affecting Labour's attitude to war and our approach to the working class problems posed by the war.

The agenda of the conference shows that opposition to the official line on vital issues, such as support for the war and for the electoral trust, is more considerable than for many years.

It would be tragic if this opposition should render itself impotent through lack of cohesion. A number of Labour MPs, candidates and constituency parties have therefore decided to summon a special meeting to be held in the Trade Union Club, Avon Road, Bournemouth, at 7 p.m., on Sunday, May 12, the day before Conference opens.

J. P. W. MALLALIEU,
Labour Candidate for Huddersfield,
1 Paper Buildings, Temple, E.C.4.

Land Monopoly in Perspective

The difference between Mr. McKellen and myself is not fundamental but largely one of perspective. I agree with him that vagrancy arose from land monopoly, and that land monopoly plays a vicious role in our social system; but that does not obliterate the fact that the introduction of machinery under capitalist control led to the evils I described. Had there been no land monopoly, those evils would have appeared eventually, nevertheless.

However, I do not believe that the operation of the machine necessarily depends upon money. I merely stated that it did so, in fact, in view of the ideas which people held, at the time machinery was introduced. Soviet Russia and also Nazi Germany have exposed that fallacy, and I shall not be surprised if after this war many more countries adopt the simple plan of applying labour to raw material without the folly of borrowing capital. The abolition of land monopoly must accompany that change.

WILFRED WELLOCK,
12 Victoria Avenue, Quinton, Birmingham.

I read with interest G. D. McKellen's letter regarding the causes of our present economic chaos. May I pass on to him a word of warning which was given to me in 1902 at the close of the Boer War, when Joseph Chamberlain started his Tariff Reform campaign. The Rev. S. W. Thackeray wrote to me, and warned me against following Henry George too closely. He said: "George would have been one of our finest economists had he taken up the same attitude towards interest upon capital as he did towards the rental value of land."

"Interest on capital is nothing more than the rental value of separated portions of earth created by the needs of the community equally as much as the rental value of land, and should therefore belong to the community as well as the rental value of land." N. MacKENZIE,
43 Devon Road, Watford, Herts.

N.W. OBJECTORS' TRIBUNAL

I FEEL bound to dissent from the criticism you published last week of the north-western tribunal under the chairmanship of Judge Essenhigh. As an impression of the tribunal's work it is inaccurate, and, on the personal side, it is unfair in its comparison between Judge Essenhigh and Judge Burgess.

I have sat through the greater part of eight of the nine and a half sittings over which Judge Essenhigh has presided, and on the first day I saw it at work under the new chairman, I confess that I, too, used the word "appalled" to describe my impression. The next two days were greatly improved.

The bad day from our point of view was an isolated one. Oddly enough, one one day in the second week also—Tuesday—the tribunal seemed less sympathetic than on the other four. On the "good" days, I am pretty sure that the tribunal dealt more favourably with a number of applicants than it would have done under the chairmanship of Judge Burgess, and this was certainly the impression of observers who are not pacifists.

I should endorse the criticism that Judge Essenhigh tends to spend too much time elaborating his own views and talking of his own experiences.

REGINALD A. SMITH,
34 Burnside Road, Gattley, Cheshire.

*The expression "appalling" used in our report last week was taken from an individual opinion which was, no doubt (as in our correspondent's case), a spontaneous expression.—Ed.

Pacifists and Society

The often-debated point referred to in Miss Pugh's admirable letter regarding the duty of the individual to the community always seems to me to be based on false assumptions, because the community is itself composed of individuals who, willy-nilly, pacifists no less than the upholders of war, are compelled to contribute to the war effort.

We, the taxpayers, are "the nation"; we are supporting ourselves; the community is doing nothing for us that we are not ourselves doing: we supply the money the politicians spend—but we are not consulted, especially when a major issue such as war arises, as to how it is to be spent.

So really the question as to whether the pacifist contributes to society cannot logically arise: whether he pays income tax or drinks tea, he is helping the country.

DALLAS KENMORE,
Lynhurst Hill,
Barnet Green, Worcs.

"A Bold Appeal"

I am writing as the secretary of the Activist Group to express our deep disappointment with the meeting held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on Wednesday, April 17.

All the audience were asked to do was to consider the wicked Treaty of Versailles and its effect upon the present situation (a truth we have been flogging for years), the plight of the neutrals caused by the continuation of a war which is bound to spread to their lands, the debatable position of questionable Christians, and the making of material sacrifices for the future peace of the world by the relinquishing of an empire we have no moral right to hold. All of this is no doubt true, but can we expect by any stretch of the imagination that it is sufficient to capture the imagination of the common man and the common woman our propaganda is directed towards? What is required of us is a bold appeal to the people for direct action to stop a slaughtering of their fellow human beings that was never started in their interests.

What we should be doing is to point out to the people that it is just as wrong and just as much a cause of war for one section, a minority section at that, to be living on the backs of another section of mankind all the world over as it is for one set of people to start murdering another set of people. What we must ask for if we are to continue with our forward march is a refusal to sanction this society, whether at war or at peace, and a re-birth of the spirit of social justice and equality, visualised by the early socialists.

ALEX THOMPSON,
Secretary Activist Group,
15 Stanhope Street, Manchester, 19.

Points from Letters

NON-REGISTRATION

As one of the many COs now awaiting the possibility of imprisonment, I should like to endorse all the recent suggestions of mass non-registration and the ignoring of Tribunals completely. I am not guided solely by my own experiences before the Local and Appellate Tribunals, but by a general survey of the whole situation. At the next registration let the newspapers be able to proclaim triumphantly that there were no COs. The triumph will be ours, and the members of the Tribunals will be obliged to find other ways of earning six guineas a day.

R. F. PHILLIPS, Edmonton.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE

I wonder how many heard the 6 o'clock BBC News last Saturday evening, when the Announcer said "Passive Resistance is seriously hindering the advance of the Germans in Norway."

Similar statements were made by the Press about the success of Passive Resistance when used by the Czechs, and it is significant to note that our Press are always willing to point out its practicability when it is practised by other nations against Germany.

B. LLEWELLYN, Droylsden, nr. Manchester.

BRITISH PEOPLES' PARTY

Under the above heading a correspondent in your April 12 issue seems to link up the restriction of membership of this Party to "adults of British descent" with sympathy with the ill-treatment of Jews. This is entirely erroneous. The Party does not place any particular restriction on Jews, but being a British Party it does

not accept people belonging to any other nation. English people are not admitted, neither do they expect to be admitted, to the Jewish Board of Deputies. We do not, however, say that this is evidence that the Jews are anti-British.

JOHN BECKETT, Hon. Gen. Secretary,
London, W.C.1.

THE STATE AND C.O.s

Friend Clogg rightly reminds me of the apostasy of the "Socialist politicians," but, after all, politics have to do with Statecraft. But the essence of the conscientious objections of Christians to military service is that a higher loyalty to God and Man absolves them from such State demands. Friend Clogg asks what would I have the COs do? I think it is obvious: not to seek the authority of Caesar to serve God.

FRANK R. HANCOCK, Abergavenny, Mon.

WHITEWASH

I was astonished to see an extraordinary pronouncement by J. Middleton Murry in his otherwise admirable article in last week's *Peace News*. He says, in effect, that we must avoid any suspicion of attempting to whitewash Hitler.

In these times when a large part of the war propaganda is confined to the blatant distribution of haloes on the one hand and the bespattering of black and red on the other, surely a little time spent in pointing out that the haloes seem rather the worse for wear and that, more especially, the black and red have neither the depth nor the covering power claimed for them by their distributors, is a useful contribution towards the return to sanity.

S. E. NEAL, Hull.

NEW EDUCATIONAL METHODS

I should like to thank all those friends who have written in reply to my letter in last week's issue. In due course they will receive a typed copy of details. I should, however, like to appeal for more parents, as 98 per cent. of the letters I have received have been from teachers.

THOMAS G. RICHARDS, Ealing, W.13.

"UNSER KAMPF"

I am very glad to know that the PPU is in touch with Sir Richard Acland. I am very enthusiastic about his movement, although he is not a professed pacifist. I look at things this way. Pacifism is a faith and a long term policy. Before we attain perfection for the world we shall probably have to go through several intermediate stages. Now I think all pacifists should help those intermediate stages if they are an improvement on the present state of affairs. The pacifist can at the same time preach his faith.

FREDERICK SMITH, Luton, Beds.

ABSOLUTIST PEACE PLEDGE

It is not enough merely to state, as an "absolutist," what I will not do. Mere pacifism is nothing, unless we are ready to vow ourselves to work, each as he can, for love alone. I give myself, therefore, to life-giving work (digging land to grow food). Such work in itself is worship, and a sacred duty. Gandhi's victory is founded upon the spinning wheel. Victory for European pacifism will come through our reorganization of industries on the basis of love, even if the pioneer work seems insignificant.

Let us become a "Work Pledge" Union.
ERIC J. W. TAPSELL, Sunderland,
Cockermouth.

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BOOKS

TRUTH ABOUT THIS WAR. The book for which Action and New Leader refused advertisements. Truth says "so dangerous that the authorities should lose no time in suppressing it." Two shillings and sixpence from British People's Party, 13 John Street, London, W.C.1.

CYCLES

CYCLES: Britain's best at £5 9s. and £5 18s., carriage paid; every necessary accessory even to cyclist. Made by over 40 years' established Harris Cycle Co., Coventry.

FOR SALE

NEW OR SECONDHAND CARS or caravans for sale or hire.—S. C. Allombey, Times Garage, Levenshulme, Manchester.

HEALTH AND MEDICAL

MISS J. D. WALLINGTON (and Mrs. Helen Whitcomb), health practitioner, osteopath, bone-setter, treats all conditions of ill-health by natural methods. Consultations by appointment. 1 Ashley Place, S.W.1 (Victoria 0131), and 2 Norton Way, North Letchworth. (Letchworth 885).

MISCELLANEOUS

BELL TENTS needed urgently by small pacifist community. What offers.—Box 419, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

PERSONAL

ADVERTISER would like make contact with other Christian Scientist COs.—Box 425, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

COUPLE WITH SON (2) would share their home and its duties with mother and child (2-3) widowed or temporarily alone with income insufficient for independence.—S. 20 Churchfields, Broxbourne, Herts.

PRINTING

PACIFIST PRINTER: Handbills, leaflets, programmes and general printing.—W. J. Bridgen, 232, Sellin Court Road, London, S.W.17.

PRINTING of any description. Cheapest house in country for leaflets, &c. Speedy delivery.—Galt and Son, Shilvey, Yorks. Entirely PPU.

VITTING CARDS: 100, 1s. 6d. Letterheads: 1,000, 7s. Postcards, Handbills, &c. Samples, estimate free.—E. Atkinson, 26 Bridges Lane, Biddington. Croxson 4545. A.P.F., P.P.U. Member.

PUBLICATIONS

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST POLITICAL MOVEMENT. Send for a copy of important pamphlet, "Peace NOW!" by Rev. H. Inglis James; 14d. post free, from 23 Clara Street, Stoke, Coventry.

HEADLINE NEWS-LETTER. The Truth about This War, written weekly by one of Britain's best known publicists. 52 Letters, 10s. 2d. Letters, 5s. 6d. Specimen copy 3d.—Secretary, Headline, 13 John Street, W.C.1.

"YOUTHOPOLIA," Britain's radical youth organ of opinion (edited by pacifist) is now available on postal subscription: 6 months, 6/-; single copies, 3d., post free.—"Youthopia," 3 Colwyn Road, Northampton.

RELIGIOUS

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

SITUATIONS

Vacant

FARM WORKERS WANTED for Channel Islands. Write fully.—Box 416, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

LAD about 16, wanted, learn woodwork. Old established firm. Wales. Farm accommodation provided.—Box 424, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

P.P.U. BADGE

Having worn a badge regularly for a very long time now, and, through inquiries of what it represents, being involved in many arguments about pacifism during business hours with business people I have contact with, I am not sure that it is a wise policy. Many people, on being told that it is a pacifist society's emblem, immediately get their "backs up," and I am inclined to believe that one can probably spread the pacifist view more effectively without a label.

HY. OSBORNE, Jnr., Hastings.

IN HYDE PARK

May I express my appreciation in your columns to Frederick Lohr for his fine work and devotion to the cause of peace in his Hyde Park meetings? Those readers who need inspiration could not do better than go along to hear him.

E. S. REEKIE, Nuneaton.

"CO-OPERATION"

Realizing the most urgent need of the moment was the stopping of the war. I was for some time inclined to support a United Peace Front of whoever would join it. Considerable contact with a staunch supporter of the British Union has made me realize the danger the PPU is in. My fascist friend has now admitted that the PPU is used as a "stooge" by the BU. "In fact," he said the other day—and turning back the lapel of his jacket revealed a PPU badge for use when it is more convenient to display the emblem of the pacifist than the lightning flash. Is this the sort of co-operation we can welcome?

ROY F. DAVIDSON, Chingford.

DEFINITION

Quite often pacifists are asked the question: "What really is Pacifism?" The following is a definition which I heard given in a discussion the other day: "Pacifism is an assertion that whatever differences of opinion or interest arise between individuals, classes or nations, the only way to bring about a real solution is to adopt peaceful persuasion, reason, good will and sympathetic understanding."

BERTRAM HARRISON, Leytonstone.

BANK CLERKS

I am endeavouring to form a group of Bank Clerk pacifists. I should be much obliged if you could help me by putting a notice in the *Peace News* asking any interested Bank Clerks to communicate with me and to state if they are members of the Bank Officers' Guild.

A. H. LUXBURY,
137 Newearth Road, Walkden, Manchester.

MORAL VALUES

I note with some surprise that comparatively few of the letters and articles which appear in *Peace News* maintain that the present war is due to a large extent to the undermined state of the moral standard of life in Germany, brought about by that greatest destroyer of moral qualities, so far—the Great War. This conflict must be brought to an end before it ultimately extinguishes the remaining sparks of moral values in Germany.

S. ROY GIDDINGS, Leigh-on-Sea.

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The Group Secretary Weekly Notes

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Eric

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FAITH OR FAILURE!

By John Barclay

WITHOUT vision we are lost. If we fix our eyes on the path we shall never be guided by the stars and just now the stars are our guide. Those who believe that Peace will come by being peaceful and are not prepared to challenge the existing order are living in a Fool's Paradise, for only by tremendous sacrifices and willingness to cut ourselves off from the security of safe living can we hope to make progress.

It is this desire to examine every inch of our road that is holding us up. It is grand to have a bank balance but we may have to face the future without a bank and it is better to be hungry on the right road than well-fed on the wrong one.

We are at a particularly difficult parting of the ways and the decision we make at this moment is likely to influence the whole course of our history. Either we accept the uncertain dangerous road of adventure or else we remain on the broad high road of good intentions lit by the glaring mistakes of past attempts, warning us that this is the road to perdition.

We have to decide this question at the Annual General Meeting and such a gathering may easily be led astray by either "he-men" or "yes-men." Both are motivated by fear; the "he-men" by fear

of inaction and the "yes-men" by absence of rules. Torn by conflicting loyalties, a conference sometimes plays for safety and regrets afterwards.

I believe that the criterion for our third Annual General Meeting is the spirit of adventure and without acting for action's sake, gave a decisive answer to critics and doubters.

LET us, therefore, be bold and give up measuring our strength by the standards of an out-worn society. We are the pioneers of a new society with new standards and a new vision; our strength is that of principles for which we stand; the new society is that in which we ourselves function as pacifists and our vision is capable of inspiring others.

It is probable that the responsibility for this will rest increasingly on the individual group and member and as the difficulties of paper shortage and rising prices become more acute we shall rely more on the initiative of the individual. To be successful, the Conference meeting this weekend should devote itself not to Finance but to Faith! Only when the new world is seen to be real can we find the money to pay the fare.

To all those who hoped to be present and left it too late, my greetings. We shall have to book the Albert Hall for the fourth AGM!

The Group Secretary's Weekly Notes

What the Groups Are Doing

THE meeting organized by the PPU, Society of Friends and Fellowship of Reconciliation, which was held at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on April 17, on "The Case for a Negotiated Peace" was a great success. The hall, which seats approximately 2,450, was crowded, and many people had to stand at the back.

The meeting was a comparatively peaceful one, though the heckling and interjections throughout the evening, which were of a very mild quality, and the large number of written questions at the close, did show that the audience was not composed wholly of pacifists.

The chairman (Principal George A. Sutherland) referred to the statement of the temporary chairman of the Lancashire COs Tribunal (Judge Essenhigh) at the previous day's sitting that the members of the Peace Pledge Union had never attempted to foster friendship with Germany by going over in large parties to Germany because they were frightened for their own skins. He reminded Judge Essenhigh of the visits of George Lansbury to the dictators, and how, because he went in a very different spirit than the Prime Minister, he returned with very different impressions of Herr Hitler.

Large Bermondsey Meeting

A LARGE public meeting in Bermondsey on April 16 was addressed by R. R. Stokes, Rhys Davies, Dr. Alfred Salter, Geoffrey Gilbert, Bernard Taylor, and presided over by the Rev. Leslie Davison. It was necessary to hold an "overflow" meeting.

The meeting passed a resolution calling the Government "to institute negotiations for an armistice and for the holding of a world conference in the endeavour to effect a general European settlement and the equitable adjustment of the economic differences between the nations of the world."

Advice of the passing of the resolution has been sent to the Prime Minister, C. R. Attlee, Herbert Morrison, the Daily Herald, Reynolds News and the Labour Party. The meeting was organized jointly by the PPU, No Conscription League, Labour Party and ILP.

Derby Members Find Opposition

THE Derby Group had planned to hold a public meeting on April 12 in the Victoria Hall, Derby, which is owned by the YMCA. The principal speaker was to have been Mr. H. Hilditch, of Birmingham, supported by Mr. L. E. Hilditch (chairman of the Derby Group), Mr. G. E. Macpherson, of Nottingham. The Rev. L. S. Cheshire had agreed to take the chair.

Final arrangements had been made for the meeting, including the displaying of a poster outside the hall bearing the title "Peace IS Possible."

Two days before the meeting the chairman of the group received a letter from the YMCA stating that they had removed the poster which had caused "endless criticism" and placed the YMCA in a "most embarrassing position." As, however, the members of the board did not wish to hinder or curtail freedom of speech, they were quite prepared to let the hall so long as the notice was removed, but it was made quite clear that the local PPU would not be allowed to hire the hall on any future occasion.

The situation became unpleasant and conditions so unfavourable that the chairman found himself forced to cancel the hall booking and subsequently the whole of the meeting. It has not yet been possible to make any new arrangements.

Eric Gill in Nottingham

"WAR and the Arts" was the title and Eric Gill the speaker at a large Nottingham Regional meeting on April 11. It was attended by about 150 members and friends.

Mr. Gill stressed that we must be able to work and live as human beings, before we get

order and peace in the world. It is the control of our work that is the main thing that the world has lost, he said.

Bournemouth and New Forest Region

AT the annual general meeting of the Bournemouth and New Forest Region on April 20 it was revealed that more people had become interested and had attended meetings, since the outbreak of war.

The Region was started in May, 1939, with twelve groups and now had fourteen. The individual groups submitted encouraging reports on their activities and progress. One group sends Peace News regularly to the local hospital and other groups intend to follow suit.

A report was given on the work of the local Advisory Bureau and details were also given of the formation of the Central Board for COs.

Preston Meetings

THE Rev. W. Haig addressed a recent Preston group meeting on "The unwritten history leading to this war."

Members were present at a meeting organized by the Workers' Educational Association. The lecturer was R. H. Jones, and his subject "Prospects of Civilization."

Taunton Peace Group

THE Taunton Peace Group was recently addressed on "India" by Anan Mukarji, a native of Delhi, at present studying at the Quaker College, Woodbrooke. He explained the causes for India's insistence on her freedom and questions on the supposed stumbling blocks of the poor education of the masses, the caste system, and the antagonism between Hindus and Moslems, were given clearly reasoned answers.

King's Lynn Discusses Policy

"HOW to continue being a Pacifist" was the subject chosen by Miss Enid Jernyn when she addressed the King's Lynn group on April 19. Miss Jernyn spoke of all sides of activity, and in the subsequent discussion various points of view were put forward, particularly in regard to propaganda efforts.

Southall Learns About W.R.I.

SPEAKING at a Southall group meeting recently, Mr. Eric L. Dixon described the formation and activities of the War Resisters' International. He compared the treatment of Pacifists of various countries at the present time and during the last war, saying that the Scandinavian countries took the most tolerant attitude towards Pacifism.

Mr. Dixon went on to say that while he utterly deplored Germany's invasion of Norway and Denmark, he thought that Denmark's policy of non-violent resistance would prove to be the wisest step the country could have taken.

It was reported that Peace News sales in the borough were showing a decided increase.

Wilfred Wellock at Rhyl

A VERY successful meeting was held at the Co-op Hall, Rhyl, organized by the Rhyl group, when the speakers were the Rev. J. H. Griffiths, of Denbigh, and Wilfred Wellock.

About 50 people were present, and the speeches were praised by everyone for the forceful arguments which were put forward. A very lively discussion followed.

P.P.U. Membership May Handicap Cardiff C.O.s

MENTIONING membership of the Peace Pledge Union seems to handicap an applicant as much as to help him, if indeed it is not ignored altogether, comments our observer at Cardiff in a report on the sittings of the South Wales Tribunal, April 8 to 11.

The Judge has, however, several times referred to the PPU as an excellent institution, at least so far as its peace-time work is concerned.

The attitude of the tribunal was, perhaps, most clearly indicated in a case when the Judge asked the applicant for evidence of the working of his conscience, as he usually does. When the applicant detailed his church work, the Judge said, "That is the sort of thing we accept. Anything else?" to which the applicant replied, "I am a member of the PPU."

"We don't accept that," said the Judge with a smile, "unless, that is," he added, after a moment's pause, "you have spent a lot of time doing work for peace."

"Let Us Remember..."

To the Editor.

Throughout AGM, I hope we shall never forget that as we sit deciding our future peace policy, elsewhere, thousands are killing each other. With each of us individually rests the responsibility of saving millions of people from a useless and hideous death.

Let us go forth from AGM in the spirit of Dick Sheppard. Let us remember and act upon Dick's words in We say "No!"—There is no way of achieving a real peace policy, unless those who are opposed to war become vocal and declare the faith that is in them."

RONALD S. MALLONE.

53 Musgrove Road, New Cross, S.E.14.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

An anonymous donation of £2 to the Eastleigh PPU special CO fund is warmly acknowledged by the group.

STOKE (Coventry) group has grown so large that it has had to split up into three smaller groups. Group meetings are now held on Mondays at 7.30 p.m. at 43 Grant Road ("Biggin Hall" Group), 88 Longfellow Road ("Forum" Group), and 41 Momus Boulevard (Stoke Group).

The joint groups intend to bring out a magazine entitled Peace Views in May and each subsequent month.

A Trial Tribunal will be held on May 1 at 7.30 p.m. at Dick Sheppard House, 20 Abbey Road, Coventry. On May 2 at 7.30 p.m. a public meeting will be held at Stoke Congregational Church, when Captain Hilditch (area organizer) and George Ronneback will be the speakers.

Wakefield Annual Meeting

WAKEFIELD has just held its second annual meeting and has surveyed a quiet but steady year of work. Two public meetings and twenty group meetings were held during the year, while on the other fifteen meeting nights members of the group spoke, or debates, press cuttings and two minute speeches filled the bill.

On the outbreak of the war members decided to try to make their own contribution to the discussion on possible terms of peace, and four study groups were formed to deal with various aspects of the problem. They have continued to meet throughout the winter.

A few rambles, a New Year Social, and a small survey of public opinion in the town on the war situation, were included in the activities. The group shares in the work of the local CO advisory bureau.

Advisory Bureaux

Following are further amendments and additions to the lists of Advisory Bureaux for COs already published in Peace News. Any similar changes should be sent to the Central Advisory Bureau, at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, and not to Peace News.

Amendments

BRADFORD. Miss K. McDonough, 19 Ash Mount, Great Horton, Bradford, Yorks.

BURY. Alexander Manning, 23 Pembroke Drive, Redvale, Bury, Lancs.

ISLINGTON. Will Hayden, 32 Lucerne Road, N.5.

LUTON. B. J. Banner, 80 Graham Gardens, Luton, Beds.

RADCLIFFE. Mrs. Saunders, 85 Blackburn Street, Radcliffe, Lancs.

SHREWSBURY. A. C. Hughes, 28 Kenwood Drive, Skelton Road, Shrewsbury.

SOUTHAMPTON. Mr. B. Loveridge, 40 Kennedy Road, Maybush, Southampton.

WELWYN GARDEN CITY. Mr. A. North, 1 Delcott Close, Welwyn Garden City.

Additions

BURY ST. EDMUNDS. Jack Copeland, 18 Out Risbygate, Bury St. Edmunds.

KESWICK. George Boreham, 16 St. Herbert Street, Keswick, Cumberland.

PORTMADOC. D. Gwynndaf-Williams, Portmadoc, Caernarvonshire.

LONDON, N.W.1: K. Gough, 250 Camden Road, N.W.1.

Dates for Your Diary

Items for inclusion in this column should contain: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers; organizers (and secretary's address). As it is a free service we reserve the right to select items for inclusion. Notices received after MONDAY will in any case stand very little chance of publication.

Today (Friday)

BISHOPSTOKE: 7.30 p.m. Spring Lane Methodist Church, Lecture Room; R. S. Mallone on "100% Peace Activity Required"; PPU.
EWE: 8 p.m. Scout Room, behind Ewell P.O., High Street; Walter Birmingham on "The Economic Approach to Pacifism"; PPU.
GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Anniesland Co-op. Hall, Linden Place; discussion circle; No Conscription League.
LOTHBURY: 1.10 p.m. The Vestry, St. Margaret's (at back of Bank of England); Dr. Herbert Gray on "Winning the Peace"; City PPU Group.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

BETHNAL GREEN: 3.30 p.m. 375 Cambridge Heath Road; conference in support of a Socialist Peace; John McNair and Will Morris; admission free; I.L.P.

Saturday and Sunday, April 27 and 28

HUDDESFIELD: three lectures by Theodore Faithfull; Saturday, at 19 John William Street, 7 p.m. "Economic Changes necessary for a permanent Peace"; Sunday at Friends' Meeting House, Paddock, 2.30 p.m. "Psychology of Peace and War" (tea at 4.30 p.m.); 6 p.m. "Constructive Pacifism"; PPU.
LONDON, N.W.1: Friends House, Euston Road, annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union.

Sunday, April 28

BANBURY: 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Horse Fair; Dr. J. S. Rake on "What I think about the War"; PPU.
BIRMINGHAM: 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; Miss P. E. Brockway on "Peace—as approach from Nature Study"; PPU.
LONDON, N.W.1: 3 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; 1940 general meeting; chairman: Reginald Sorenson; Labour Party Pacifist Fellowship.

Monday, April 29

BAYSWATER: 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; discussion on "Women and Peace"; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

EASTLEIGH: 7.30 p.m. Emmanuel Baptist Church, Desborough Road; Ronald S. Mallone on "Let the Churches demand an Armistice"; FOR.
ENFIELD: Labour Hall, Lancaster Road; John McNair on "The Case for the Political Objector"; Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors and PPU. For information about Enfield FCO phone ENfield 0792, or write 45 Carisbrooke Close.

Tuesday, April 30

EALING: 7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 49 Uxbridge Road; discussion on "Democracy"; PPU.
KINGSWAY: 3 p.m. Kingsway Hall; annual meetings of Baptist Pacifist Fellowship; business meeting for members only; 7 p.m. Public meeting; Rev. Henry Carter, Rev. Donald O. Soper and Rev. F. C. Bryan (chairman).
LONDON, W.C.1: 12.45 p.m. Cafe Embassy, 42 Theobalds Road; Nancy Richardson on "Pacifist Service"; Civil Service Pacifist Fellowship.
LONDON, N.W.9: 8 p.m. Co-operative Hall, West Endon Broadway; Rev. R. W. Sorenson on "The Case for Pacifism"; PPU.
LONDON, W.1: 7.45 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street; PPU members' meeting; "War without Violence," by Roy Walker; refreshments at Club.
TOWER HILL: 12.45 p.m. Open-air meeting; Howard Whitten; City PPU group.

Wednesday, May 1

BAYSWATER: 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; Kundan Lawi Jalle on "Mahatma Gandhi and India"; PPU.
BERMONDSEY: 7.30 p.m. Library Hall, Spa Road; May Day demonstration against War; Dr. A. D. Beiden, Will Morris, Dr. Salter, Fenner Brockway and others.
BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Priory Rooms, Upper Priory; "Peace by Negotiation Now"; Fred Longden, Frederick Lohr and Herbert Whitley (chairman); No Conscription League and PPU.
CHICHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Thomas Street; Rev. Bryn Thomas on "Jonah, the Whale and Peace"; chairman: Arthur Shipway; PPU.
EASTLEIGH: 7 p.m. Railway Institute; open-air meeting; "Workers renounce War!"; Gwynn Bagwell, Ronald S. Mallone and Elsie Yates; Peace News sellers welcomed; PPU.
MORECAMBE: 7.30 p.m. Lupton Hall (Central); Lord Tavistock on "A negotiated Peace Now"; PPU.
OXFORD: 8.15 p.m. 115 High Street; Canon Grenested on "Peace with Justice: Some first Principles"; Oxford University Pacifist Association.

Thursday, May 2

EALING: 7.45 p.m. Bedford Hall, Bedford Road; "How to end the War"; Andrew Stewart and F. W. Handover (chairman); PPU.
ELTHAM: 7.45 p.m. Sherard Hall, Court Road (rear of Congregational Church); Preston Benson and Rev. R. H. Field, of Wimbledon; PPU.
KINGSTON-ON-THAMES: 7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Eden Street; Rev. C. G. Holland; PPU and CO Fellowship.
RICHMOND: 8 p.m. 57 Larkfield Road (near Railway Station); David Jenkin on "The Ethics of Conscientious Objection"; Fellowship of COs (Richmond PPU).
STOKE: Coventry: 7.30 p.m. Stoke Congregational Church Hall, Harefield Road; "The Way to Peace"; G. A. Ronneback and Capt. H. Hilditch; PPU.

Friday, May 3

BISHOPSTOKE: 7.30 p.m. Spring Lane Methodist Church Lecture Room; Ronald S. Mallone on "Pacifists Must act Now"; PPU.
GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Anniesland Co-op. Hall, Linden Place; discussion circle; No Conscription League.
LANCASTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Hall, Fenton Street; John Barclay and Fenner Brockway; PPU.
LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane; J. A. Aitken on "The annual general meeting"; PPU.
LONDON, S.W.12: 8 p.m. Labour Party Centre, 12 Balm Park Road; meeting for COs and sympathizers; Balm and Tooting COs Advisory Bureau.
LOTHBURY: 1.10 p.m. The Vestry, St. Margaret's (back of Bank of England); Rev. Patrick Figgis on "The Price of Peace"; City PPU group.
NEWTON ABBOT: 7 p.m. Market Square; May Day Demonstration; Andrew Stewart, Miss K. Spurrell and Rev. Thomas Cooke; if wet in Bevan's Restaurant.

Saturday, May 4

NEWTON ABBOT: 3.15 p.m. Bevan's Restaurant; Peace News conference; Humphrey Moore (Editor), Andrew Stewart (Assistant Editor) and Tom Brown (Distribution Department); PPU.

Sunday, May 5

LEEDS: 7 p.m. Town Hall; May Day demonstration; Dr. C. A. Smith and Andrew Stewart; J. A. Aitken (chairman); PPU and ILP.
PLYMOUTH: 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Mutley; Humphrey Moore and Tom Brown; PPU.

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OWING to increasing pressure on space and to difficulties in connexion with paper supplies, rates for Displayed Advertisements have been increased by 25 per cent. The new rates may be obtained on application to 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

Peace News Summary

"WILL war bring peace?" is the heading to a statement issued jointly this week by a committee appointed by the Society of Friends and by the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups.

Signatories include Wilfrid E. Littleboy (Clerk, yearly meeting of the Society of Friends); Professor Charles E. Raven, Joint Chairman, Council of Christian Pacifist Groups; Rev. Henry Carter, Chairman, Methodist Peace Fellowship; Professor G. H. C. MacGregor, Chairman, Scottish Council of Christian Pacifist Groups; Rev. Walter M. Long, hon. sec., Unitarian and Free Christian Peace Fellowship; Rev. Leyton Richards, Chairman, Congregational Pacifist Crusade; Rev. James Fraser, Chairman, Presbyterian Pacifist Group.

THE FUTURE

LAST week we told you the worst concerning the prospects for the future of *Peace News* in the face of the severe paper rationing. We hope it will not be quite so bad as that!

But it is as necessary as ever to make sure of getting your copy, that you should place a firm order at once either with your newsagent or with your Peace Pledge Union group.

Already the fact that the paper is being made "non-returnable" is compelling newsagents to restrict their orders to the numbers for which they have an assured sale. It is hoped that any such natural decrease will be more than offset by more orders for regular delivery.

Individuals can help, too, to offset the efforts of others to intimidate the retailers into refusing to supply the paper. Owing to an unfortunate error, our statement concerning this in last week's issue might appear to suggest that, as these retail agents are controlled by wholesalers, it might actually be the latter who would intimidate them. The fact is, of course, that in deciding what shall be sold the wholesalers have no control over the retailers—and in any case, as we reported, the chief wholesalers, at any rate, have no intention even of making difficulties.

Will you therefore encourage your newsagent to display *Peace News* by assuring him of as large a sale as possible?

PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing and Advertisement Offices:
3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.
Telephone: Stamford Hill 2262-3.

Subscription Rates, home and abroad:
Quarterly: 3s. 3d. Yearly: 12s. 6d.

Copies of "Peace News" ordered last week:
34,345 (sold out).

Last week's donations to "Peace News" Fund:
£3 16s. 5d.

Total of "Peace News" Fund to date:
£593 3s. 11d.

(The *Peace News* fund was launched to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's activity the subsidy paid to *Peace News*. Though the paper is now self-supporting, the debt for the subsidy paid over several months remains, and we would therefore welcome donations of any size to enable us to pay it off as soon as possible. Individual acknowledgments will be sent. Cheques should be made payable to Peace News, Ltd., and not to the Peace Pledge Union, and should be sent to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.)

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor *Peace News* itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implicit therein or PPU connexion with the matter advertised.) Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used.

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CUT OUT FOR RETURNS
No. 202 26.4.40.

After expressing sympathy with Denmark and Norway, the signatories ask their fellow citizens to pause and consider the outcome of spreading war, intensified on military and economic lines. Such development will leave behind it, they say, a temper which makes impossible an agreed and disinterested peace.

The Allies are insisting on guarantees, but the experiences of the consequences of the crushing defeat and disarmament of Germany in 1918 show "there are no real guarantees save that the peace be one to which free assent is given," and that it must be accompanied by progressive and rapid disarmament and co-operation for the economic well-being of all.

Men's minds must be set on the search for peace even now, before the horrors of war descend still more darkly and men are driven to more and more terrible expedients. "Let the Allies declare their willingness to discuss the way of settlement with enemies and neutrals alike. Should not our country be prepared to make generous political and economic concessions and forgo privileges in the interest of human freedom, justice and peace?"

NEW publications designed to serve the peace movement must be mentioned in our summary of the week's peace news:

The National Peace Council (39 Victoria Street, S.W.1) announces publication of a symposium entitled *What Kind of Peace?* (1s. per copy, postage 2d. extra), which discusses the moral, political and economic bases of a new peace settlement. Contributors are Sir Norman Angell, Professor Norman Bentwich, G. D. H. Cole, Mrs. Barbara Wootton, W. Arthur Lewis, Rev. Henry Carter, and Dr. H. G. Wood.

The Council has also issued *The New World Order* (4d. per copy, postage 1d.), reproducing speeches delivered by H. G. Wells, Senor de Madariaga, J. Middleton Murry, and Dr. C. E. M. Joad, at a meeting held recently at the Central Hall, Westminster.

In *League—Federation—Or?* (2d. per copy, postage 1d.) Gerald Bailey, secretary of the National Peace Council, discusses the possibilities of federalism and the relation of any federal development in Europe to the League of Nations.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation (17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1) has just published:

Christ's Choice of a Battlefield, broadcast sermon by Rev. Leyton Richards; price 2d.

The Justice of the Kingdom, by the Rev. H. Ingli James; price 1d.; and

The Logic of Faith, by the Rev. Father Andrew; price 1d. The last-named is published in association with the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship (47 Argyle Square, W.C.1).

From Pax, the Catholic peace society, comes *The Evolution of Peace*, by G. C., with foreword by Eric Gill; price 6d., publisher Stormont Murray, 276 Hughenden Road, High Wycombe, Bucks. (London stock at 17 Red Lion Passage, W.C.1).

And now for two publications of a rather different type—

Youthopia, the new youth magazine (bulletin of World Youth), No. 1, just out, is obtainable, price 3d., from 3 Colwyn Road, Northampton. It has been launched by "a handful of young people armed with little capital but lots of faith." And from New York comes the Spring issue of *The Phoenix*, which is the product of a similar faith. It contains a concerted blow against war and an affirmation of the human renaissance that is already emerging from the present chaotic world. European editor is Derek Savage, Pettit's Lane, Dry Drayton, Cambs.

A PUBLIC meeting to discuss "Which Way to Peace?" sponsored by the Chorley Wood (Herts) group of the Peace Pledge Union and advertised in last week's *Peace News*, was banned at the last moment by the local Baptist Church authorities in whose hall the meeting was to be held, though previously permission had been given.

Reasons for the belated change of attitude were the receipt of protests from residents and the fear of disturbance and damage.

Of the three speakers, only one was a pacifist—the Rev. Martin Tupper, of the FoR.

No other hall was available, and the meeting, the first arranged by the Chorley Wood group, had to be cancelled. There was no time to notify residents.

A similar experience of the Derby group of the PPU is reported in "What the Groups are Doing," page 7.

ABOUT 100 members attended a general meeting of London members of the Civil Service Pacifist Fellowship on Thursday last. Mr. Fenner Brockway, chairman of Central Board for COs, was the speaker. The chairman and secretary told of the work of the Fellowship. Grateful tribute was paid to the work of Mr. Cornish who, for conscientious objection to duty, was dismissed from the Civil Service.

Next meeting of Birmingham group of the Fellowship will be held on May 7 at Dick Sheppard House, 36 Holloway Head, Birmingham, 1, at 7 p.m. All Civil Service pacifists are invited.

Inquiries to local secretary, Robert M. Olgan, 55 Electric Avenue, Birmingham, 6, or to Mr. D. H. Brims, 239 Northumberland Avenue, Welling, Kent.

JOHN McNAIR, general secretary of the Independent Labour Party, was the speaker at a one-day school held at Altrincham by the Manchester and District Federation of the ILP. He gave sound reasons why the war should be stopped now.

According to a *News Chronicle* report on April 18, Sir Neville Henderson said in an address at the Foyle lunch at Grosvenor House that "the conversion of Germany can only come from within, and the only true conquest is conversion."

More News of C.O.s

Makin Faces His Second Court-Martial

KENNETH MAKIN, the first conscientious objector to be court-martialled, has again disobeyed orders and been remanded by his Commanding Officer to await court-martial this week.

Up to the time of going to Press, it was not known whether this second court-martial had yet been held. He disobeyed orders on Wednesday of last week.

Mr. Makin was discharged from hospital—where he was sent after his recent imprisonment—on April 10, and was found fit for duty the following day.

Dismissed by Local Authorities—

SOME local authorities are refusing to employ conscientious objectors.

Besides Reading Council (referred to in a Pacifist Commentary recently), the authorities in the following places have taken similar decisions: *Northwich, Altrincham, Middlesex, Littleborough, Watford*. Some decisions refer to individuals, others are in general terms.

St. Pancras Borough Council although dismissing a wireman in the electricity department who was exempted on condition he remained in his present employment, will make up the pay of another CO in the same department who was ordered to perform non-combatant duties.

Colchester Town Council rejected by one vote a motion to dismiss Alan Cooper, who had been appointed to replace another man now in the army. An amendment that the position be advertised and that Mr. Cooper be given an opportunity to apply was carried by a majority of four. Mr. Cooper had been given unconditional exemption.

— But Not by Co-op

THE Board of Management of Leighton Buzzard Co-operative Society have refused to dismiss a cashier who is a conscientious objector, despite a petition from 54 of his colleagues demanding his dismissal.

The cashier had been exempted from military service by the local tribunal.

At Weymouth three hundred employees of the local co-operative society threatened to strike if the society continued to employ a CO. The objector has resigned.

"Nothing could be more alien to the spirit of co-operation" than such action by employees, commented *Co-operative News*.

"It is a sad thing that some reasonably intelligent co-operative employees, anxious to see Nazism destroyed in Germany, fail to recognize that in their attempts to penalize liberty of conscience they typify everything that is evil in the present German régime."

"RECRUITING" BY NEW TRIBUNAL

IN the opinion of several observers the apparent aim of the Reading Tribunal is not so much to test the conscientious objection of the applicants as to fit them into their niches, a particularly spacious niche being provided by non-combatant service.

The bias towards grade C was noticeable but was confirmed when the Chairman stated, perhaps inadvertently, that the tribunal had been asked to provide men for the RAMC.

Intellectual arguments do not seem to carry much weight and statements showing a rational objection are dismissed as having nothing to do with conscience. On the other hand applicants are often asked to suggest a solution to the present state of affairs.

An applicant is frequently confused because a "yes" or "no" answer is demanded to a question which cannot be answered fairly without qualification. A reading of *Thouless' Straight and Crooked Thinking* would help applicants to recognize this kind of question and other deviations from straight argument.

The tribunal is courteous and fair according to its lights

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ASK YOUR NEWSAGENT TO DELIVER "PEACE NEWS" EVERY WEEK

What Does



Stand For?

THE Peace Pledge Union is the pacifist society which was founded by Canon Dick Sheppard in 1934, when he invited all those who were willing to pledge themselves to renounce war to send him their names. The society is entirely non-sectarian and welcomes within its ranks everyone who is resolved not to be the means of war's activity, irrespective of the particular form of reasoning or faith which has brought him to this decision.

Thousands of men and women, prompted by religious, rational or broadly humanitarian conviction, have now set their signatures to this pledge and, moving forward from this negative beginning, have set their energies to its positive fulfilment. Like their decision to make a renunciation of war, their way of acting for the attainment of peace remain individual.

The groups of the Peace Pledge Union scattered throughout the country follow collectively these ways to the construction of a different social order: by public demonstration they endeavour to bring their aims to the notice of others; in the belief that a new social order requires new men and women, they endeavour to constitute units of the new society within the old.

The Peace Pledge Union cannot be termed a political body in the accepted sense; it is not realistic to use the machinery of party politics in order to change a society whose values that machinery expresses. Yet in another sense, action expressing the values respected by progressive people is political action. Nor can the Union be termed a religious body in the accepted sense; to use the familiar machinery of religious organizations which have failed to establish a warless society is again unrealistic. In another sense, however, the attempt to express the values which have been the foundation of all religions is to practise religion.

Quite simply, therefore, the Peace Pledge Union asks its members to make use of their common humanity for the realization of peace: the alternative is to allow contemporary warfare to make use of their talents for common barbarism.

At a meeting of the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union, it was agreed that, though they should not be held binding in any sense upon any member, the following affirmations express, in the Council's view, the corporate mind of the Peace Pledge Union.

"We are agreed

"1. In attaching supreme value to the human person and the integrity of the individual.

"It is necessary to distinguish between the integrity of the individual, and an individualism, the exaggeration of which has prevented the realization of true democracy, and opened up the way for totalitarianism."

"We are agreed

"2. In believing that the individual only achieves full personality through the establishment of right relationships with others.

"This involves the acceptance of a share of the guilt and the responsibility of society. For some this acceptance will find expression in the attempt to reform society from within: for others an experiment through community to lead a corporate life, which, however, should not be used as a way of escape."

"We are agreed

"3. In our apprehension of the increasing power of the existing social order to destroy the individual and prohibit real community.

"Existing society denies the pacifist way of life; and we must therefore witness against this denial. This involves a recognition of the subhuman tendencies towards totalitarianism in the present situation, and an attempt to expose them. The willing submission to the common good which is exploited in totalitarianism must be incorporated in a new society based upon a new culture."

"We are agreed

"4. That our task is always to take the most creative and constructive action in the face of existing circumstances.

"The way of justice and love, to many expressed as 'the way of Christ,' is the straight way to the redemption of the individual and of society."

A series of pamphlets developing and considering these affirmations is published by the PPU, under the general title of "The Bond of Peace," price 3d. each. The national headquarters of the PPU are at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, from which addresses of local groups and details of other publications can be obtained.

STOP PRESS